理想国 against 译丛

[MIRROR] 004

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

THE END OF HISTORY AND THE LAST MAN

历史的终结与最后的人

作者_[美]弗朗西斯·福山

译者_陈高华　校译_孟凡礼

GUANGXI NORMAL UNIVERSITY PRESS
广西师范大学出版社

[MIRROR]
004

为了人与书的相遇

□□

“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□·□□□□George Steiner□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□·□□□□Anthony Burgess□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[□]□□□□·□□ □ □□□ □ □□□ □

□□□□□□□□□□

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

THE END OF HISTORY AND THE LAST MAN

□□□□□□□□□

·□□·

THE END OF HISTORY AND THE LAST MAN
by Francis Fukuyama
Copyright © 1992 by Francis Fukuyama
Chinese (Smiplified Characters) copyright © 2014
by Beijing Book Paradise Culture Co., Ltd
Published by arrangement with Intenational Creative Management, Inc.
through Bardon-Chinese Media Agency
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

□□□□□□(CIP)□□

□□□□□□□□□□ / (□) □□□ ; □□□□.— □□ : □□□□□□□□□, 2014.9
□2016.5□□□

□□□□: The End of History and the Last Man

ISBN 978-7-5495-5529-1

Ⅰ. ①□… Ⅱ. ①□… ②□… Ⅲ. ①□□□□□□ Ⅳ. ①C91

□□□□□□□CIP□□□□(2014)□124315□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□22□ □□□□□541001

□□□www.bbtpress.com

□ □ □□□□□

□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□010-64284815

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□
□□□□□□□

□□

□□□□□□

□□□

□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□

□□□Julia□□□□□David□

- □□ □□□□□□□□
- □□□ □□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□
- □□
- □□□□ □□□□
  - □1□ □□□□□□□□
  - □2□ □□□□□□□□□I□
  - □3□ □□□□□□□□□II□□□□□□□□□□
  - □4□ □□□□□□□□□
- □□□□ □□□□□□□□
  - □5□ □□□□□
  - □6□ □□□□□
  - □7□ □□□□□□□□
  - □8□ □□□□□□
  - □9□ □□□□□□
  - □10□ □□□□□□
  - □11□ □□□□□□□□
  - □12□ □□□□□□□□□□□
- □□□□ □□□□□□□□
  - □13□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
  - □14□ □□□□
  - □15□ □□□□□□
  - □16□ □□□□□
  - □17□ □□□□□
  - □18□ □□□□□
  - □19□ □□□□□□□
- □□□□ □□□□□
  - □20□ □□□□□□□□□□
  - □21□ □□□□□□□
  - □22□ □□□□□□□□□□□
  - □23□ “□□□□”□□□□
  - □24□ □□□□□□
  - □25□ □□□□
  - □26□ □□□□□□□
  - □27□ □□□□□□
  - □28□ □□□□□□

    - □29□ □□□□□□□
    - □30□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□
    - □31□ □□□□□□□□
- □□ “□□□□□”□□
- □□□□
- □□

□□□
□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□”□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□1989□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Jean Drèze□□□□□□□□□□□□□□50%□□□□□□□□□□·□□ □Narendra Modi□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1989□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□[1]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□1□
□□□□□□□

□□□□□□·□□□Immanuel Kant□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

[10] □□□□□·□□□□□□Gertrude Himmelfarb□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□*The National Interest* 16 (Summer 1989):25—26. □□Leszek Kolakowsky, “Uncertainties of a Democratic Age,” *Journal of Democracy* 1 no. 1 (1990): 47—50.

[11] □□□□□□□□Henry Kissinger, “The Permanent Challenge of Peace: US Policy Toward the Soviet Union,” in Kissinger, *American Foreign Policy* , third edition (New York: Norton, 1977), p. 302.

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□1984□□□□“□□”Review of Robert Byrnes, ed., *After Brezhnev* in *The American Spectator* 17, no. 4 (April 1984): 35—37.

[13] Jean-François Revel, *How Democracies Perish* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), p. 3.

[14] Jeann Kirkpatrick, “Dictatorships and Double Standards,” *Commentary* 68 (November 1979): 34—45.

[15] □□□□□“□□”□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□Stephen Sestanovich, “Anxiety and Ideology,” *University of Chicago Law Review* 52, no. 2 (Spring 1985):3—15.

[16] Revel (1983), p. 17. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□2□

□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□perestroika□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”□[6]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

[13] ·Brigadier-General Demetrios Ioannides P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, “Transition to, and Consolidation of, Democratic Politics in Greece, 1974, 1974—1983: A Tentative Assessment,” in Pridham (1984), pp. 53—54.

[14] Carlos Waisman, “Argentina: Autarkic Industrialization and Illegitimacy,” in Larry Diamond, Juna Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Democracy in Developing Countries* , vol. 4, *Latin America* (Boulder, Colo. : Lynne Rienner, 1988b), p. 85.

[15] Cynthia McClintock, “Peru: Precarious Regimes, Autoritarian and Democratic,” in Diamond et al. (1988b), p. 350. APRA Aprista 1985

[16] Thomas E. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964—1985* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 210—255.

[17] Charles Guy Gillespie and Luis Eduardo Gonzalez, “Uruguay: The Survival of Old and Autonomous Institutions,” in Diamond et al. (1988b), pp. 223—226.

[18] 1950 1961 1966 1920 “ ” T. R. H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History* (Johannesburg: Macmillan South Africa, 1987), p. 318.

[19] John Kane-Berman, *South* Africa’s *Silent Revolution* (Johannesburg: Southn African Institute of Race Relations, 1990), p. 60. 1987

[20] ·

[21]

□3□
□□□□□□□□□II□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□1960□□□□□□□□□□Kuybyshev□□□□□□□□□□“1981□□□□□□□□□□

□·□□□Ken Kesey□1962□□□□□□□□□□□□□□One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□1989□□□

- 1991□6□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

[4] The Marquis de Custine, *Journey for Our Time* (New York: Pelegrini and Cudahy, 1951), p. 323.

[5] □1989□□□

第4章
□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□Carlos Rangel□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□ [12]

	1790	1848	1900	1919	1940	1960	1975	1990
美国	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
加拿大			x	x	x	x	x	x
瑞士	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
英国		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
法国	x		x	x		x	x	x
比利时		x	x	x		x	x	x
荷兰		x	x	x		x	x	x
丹麦			x	x		x	x	x
皮埃蒙特 / 意大利			x	x		x	x	x
西班牙								x
葡萄牙								x
瑞典			x	x	x	x	x	x
挪威				x		x	x	x
希腊			x			x		x
奥地利				x		x	x	x
西德				x		x	x	x
东德				x				x
波兰				x				x
捷克斯洛伐克				x				x
匈牙利								x
保加利亚								x
罗马尼亚								x
土耳其						x	x	x
拉脱维亚								x
立陶宛								x
爱沙尼亚				x				x
芬兰				x	x	x	x	x
爱尔兰					x	x	x	x
澳大利亚				x	x	x	x	x
新西兰				x	x	x	x	x
智利			x	x		x		x

□□

	1790	1848	1900	1919	1940	1960	1975	1990
阿根廷			x	x				x
巴西						x		x
乌拉圭				x	x	x		x
巴拉圭								x
墨西哥					x	x	x	x
哥伦比亚				x	x	x	x	x
哥斯达黎加				x	x	x	x	x
玻利维亚						x		x
委内瑞拉						x	x	x
秘鲁						x		x
厄瓜多尔						x		x
萨尔瓦多						x		x
尼加拉瓜								x
洪都拉斯								x
牙买加							x	x
多米尼加共和国								x
特立尼达							x	x
日本						x	x	x
印度						x	x	x
斯里兰卡						x	x	x
新加坡							x	x
韩国								x
泰国								x
菲律宾						x		x
毛里求斯								x
塞内加尔							x	x
博茨瓦纳								x
纳米比亚								x
巴布亚新几内亚								x
以色列						x	x	x
黎巴嫩						x		x
总计	3	5	13	25	13	36	30	61

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1776□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[3] Robert Barros, “The Left and Democracy: Recent Debates in Latin America,” *Telos* 68 (1986): 40—70. André Gunder Frank, “Revolution in Eastern Europe: Lessons for Democratic Social Movements (and Socialists?) ” *Third World Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (April, 1990): 36—52.

[4] James Bryce, *Modern Democracies* , vol. I (New York: Macmillan, 1931), pp. 53—54.

[5] “” Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1950), p. 284. Samuel Huntington, “Will More Countries Become Democratic?” *Political Science Quarterly* 99, no. 2 (Summer 1984): 193—218.

[6] Bryce, vol. I (1931), pp. 22—23.

[7] 1989 1990

[8] ·

[9]

[10] “” “”

[11] Robert M. Fishman, “Rethinking State and Regime: Southern Europe’s Transition to Democracy,” *World Politics* 42, no. 3 (April 1990): 422—440.

[12] Michael Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs,” Philosophy and Public Affairs 12 (Summer 1983a): 205—235. Doyle “” 1990 1991 *Freedom at Issue* (Jannuary-February 1990)

[13]

[14] Howard Wiarda, “Toward a Framework for the Study of Political Change in the Iberio-Latin Tradition,” *World Politics* 25 (January 1973): 105—135.

[15] Howard Wiarda, “The Ethnocentricism of the Social Science (sic): Implications for Research and Policy,” *Review of Politics* 43, no. 2 (April 1981): 163—197.

□□□□

□□□□□□□

第5章

□□□□□

□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[16]□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□Alexandre Kojève□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1930□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□École Pratique des Hautes Études□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

[7] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jean Bodin, Louis Le Roy□*De la vicissitude ou variété des choses en l'univers* □□□□□□□□Bossuet□*Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (Paris: F. Didot, 1852)□□Burry, pp. 37—47.

[8] □□Nisbet (1969), p. 104. □□Bury (1932), pp. 104—111.

[9] □Nisbet (1969), pp. 120—121.

[10] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Collingwood, pp. 98—103; □□William Galston, *Kant and the Problem of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), especially pp. 205—268.

[11] "An Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View," in Immanuel Kant, *On History* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963), pp. 11—13.

[12] Ibid., p. 16.

[13] Kant, "Idea" (1963), pp. 23—26.

[14] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[27] Shlomo Avineri, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

[28] *Introduction à la lecture de Hegel* (Paris: Gallimard, 1947) *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel* , trans. James Nichols (New York: Basic Books, 1969) Raymond Queneau Jacques Lacan Georges Bataille Eric Weil Georges Fessard Maurice Merleau-Ponty Michael S. Roth, *Knowing and History* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 225—227. Barry Cooper, *The End of History: An Essay on Modern Hegelianism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

[29] Raymond Aron, *Memoris* (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1990), pp.65—66.

[30] "1806 " *La quinzaine littéraire* , June 1—15, 1968, Roth (1988), p. 83

[31] Kojève (1947), p. 436.

[32] 1950 " " ' ' ' " " Kojève (1947), p. 436.

[33] Max Beloff, "Two Historians, Arnold Toynbee and Lewis Namier," *Encounter* 74 (1990): 51—54.

[34] Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958) *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937), with Edward Shils, *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), and *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951). "Evolutionary Universals in Society", *American Sociological Review* 29 (June 1964): 339—357. 1963 1975 Lucian Pye *Communications and Political Development* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1963) Raymond Grew *Crises of Political Development in Europe and the United States* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1978). Gabriel Almond Myron Weiner and Samuel Huntington, eds., *Understanding Political Development* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1987), and Leonard Binder "The Natural History of Development Theory," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28 (1986): 3—33.

[35] *Capital* , vol. 1, trans. S. Moore and E. Aveling (New York: International Publishers, 1967), p. 8.

[36] Lerner (1958), p. 46.

[37] " "

[38] "..... "James A. Bill and Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., *Comparative Politics: The Quest for Theory* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1973), p. 75.

[39] Mark Kesselman, "Order or Movement? The Literature of Political Development as Ideology," *World Politics* 26, no. 1 (October 1973): 139—145. Howard Wiarda, "The Ethnocentrism of the Social Science [sic]: Implications for Research and Policy,"*Review of Politics* 43, no. 2 (April 1981): 163—197.

[40] Joel Migdal, "Studying the Politics of Development and Change: The State of the Art," in Ada Finifter, ed., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (Washington, D. C.: American Political Science Association, 1983), pp. 309—321; and Nisbet (1969).

[41] Lucian Pye *Communications and Political Development* " ' ' ' " Weiner and Huntington (197), p. 447.

第6章

结构主义

结构主义是一种在20世纪中叶兴起的思想方法，它试图通过分析事物的内在结构来理解其意义和功能。这种方法不仅在语言学领域产生了深远影响，也渗透到了人类学、心理学、文学批评等多个学科。[1]结构主义的核心观点是：任何现象都不是孤立存在的，而是处于一个相互关联的系统之中，要理解其中的任何一个部分，就必须把它放回到整个系统中去考察。

结构主义的兴起有其深刻的历史背景。在两次世界大战之后，人们对传统的理性主义和进步观念产生了怀疑，开始寻找新的思想资源来重建对世界的理解。与此同时，自然科学的发展，特别是数学和物理学的进步，为人们提供了一种新的思维模式，即通过寻找规律和结构来把握复杂现象。这种思维模式被引入到人文社会科学中，形成了结构主义的方法论。

结构主义的基本特征可以概括为三个方面：整体性、转换性和自我调节性。整体性是指结构是一个整体，其中的各个部分不是简单的堆砌，而是有机的组合，部分的性质和功能只有在整体中才能得到说明。转换性是指结构具有一种内在的转换规律，通过这种规律，结构可以产生出新的内容，但这些新内容仍然保持着结构的基本特征。自我调节性是指结构具有一种自我维持和自我调节的能力，它不需要借助外部的力量就能够保持自己的稳定。

在语言学领域，结构主义的代表人物是瑞士语言学家费尔迪南·德·索绪尔。他在其著作《普通语言学教程》中提出了一系列重要的概念，如语言与言语的区别、能指与所指的关系、共时性与历时性的区别等。索绪尔认为，语言是一个符号系统，其中的每一个符号都是由能指和所指两个方面构成的，能指是符号的声音形象，所指是符号所表达的概念，两者之间的关系是任意的、约定俗成的。他还强调，研究语言应该首先研究其共时状态，即某一特定时期内语言的结构，而不是其历史演变。

在人类学领域，结构主义的代表人物是法国人类学家克洛德·列维-斯特劳斯。他将结构主义的方法应用于对亲属关系、神话、图腾等现象的研究，试图揭示这些现象背后的深层结构。列维-斯特劳斯认为，人类的思维具有一种普遍的结构，这种结构是由二元对立的原则所支配的，例如自然与文化、生与死、男与女等。他通过对大量民族志资料的分析，试图证明这些二元对立的原则在不同的文化中都以不同的方式存在着。[2]

结构主义的影响是广泛而深远的。它不仅改变了人们对语言、文化、社会等现象的理解方式，也为后来的许多思想流派提供了基础或参照。

□□□□ □□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

School," in Edward Earle, ed., *The Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1948), pp. 172—173.

[8] Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 17. □□□□□□□□□□□□□"□□□□□"□□□□□□□□□□□□

第7章

□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□·□□□George Miller□□□□□□□□□□□□*The Road Warrior*□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□amour-propre
□□
□□
□□

□□
□□1920□
1930□□
□□BP□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

[6] □□□□

第8章
□□□□□□

□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□“□□”□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□9□
□□□□□□

□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1939).

[3] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ronald Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics: The Search for a Paradigm* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1981); James A. Caporaso, “Dependence, Dependency, and Power in the Global System: A Structural and Behavioral Analysis,” *International Organization* 32 (1978): 13—43, and idem, “Dependency Theory: Continuities and Discontinuities in Development Studies,” *International Organization* 34 (1980): 605—628; and J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, “Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment,”*Comparative Politics* 10 (July 1978): 535—557.

[4] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□*El Segundo Decenio de las Naciones Unidas Para el Desarrollo: Aspectos Basicos del la Estrategia del Desarrollo de America Latina* (Lima, Peru: ECLA, April 14—23, 1969). □□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Osvaldo Sunkel□□□□□·□□□□□Celso Furtado□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□·□□□□André Gunder Frank□□□□□□□□□□□Osvaldo Sunkel, “Big Business and ‘Dependencia,’”*Foreign Affairs* 50 (April 1972): 517—531; Celso Furtado, *Economic Development of Latin America: A Survey from Colonial Times to the Cuban Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); André Gunder Frank, *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969). □□□□□□□□Theotonio Dos Santos, “The Structure of Dependency,” *American Economic Review* 40 (May 1980): 231—236.

[5] □□□□□□□□□□Walt W. Rostow, *Theorists of Economic Growth from David Hume to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 403—407.

[6] Osvaldo Sunkel and Pedro Paz, quoted in Valenzuela and Valenzuela (1978), p. 544.

[7] □□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Thorsten Veblen□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Viking Press, 1942). □□Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 8.

[8] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[14] □□□□□□ “Taiwan and Korea: Two Paths to Prosperity,” *Economist* 316, no. 7663 (July 14, 1990): 19—22.

[15] □□□□□□

□10□
□□□□□□

□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

28 (1963): 253—264; and Deane E. Neubauer, “Some Conditions of Democracy,” *American Political Science Review* 61 (1967): 1002—1009.

[3] R. Hudson and J. R. Lewis, “Capital Accumulation: The Industrialization of Southern Europe?” in Allan Williams, ed., *Southern Europe Transformed* (London: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 182.□□Linz (1979), p. 176. □□□□

[22] David Apter, *The Politics of Modernization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[23] Huntington (1968), pp. 134—137. “” Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1955)。

[24]

[25] “”

[26] ·

[27] Cynthia McClintock, “Peru: Precarious Regimes, Authoritarian and Democratic,” in Larry Diamond, Juan Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset, *Democracy in Developing Countries* , vol. 4, *Latin America* (Boulder, Colo.: Lunne Rienner, 1988b), pp. 353—358.

[28] 13% 23%。

[29] · Andranik Migranian · Igor Klyamkin *Literaturnay Gazeta* (August 16, 1989), translated in *Détente,* November 1989; and “The Long Road to the European Home,” *Novy Mir* , no. 7 (July 1989): 166—184.

[30] Daniel H. Levine “Paradigm Lost: Dependence to Democracy,” *World Politics* 40, no. 3 (April 1988): 377—394.

[31] Gerschenkron (1962) 1868 Koji Taira, “Japan’s Modern Economic Growth: Capitalist Development under Absolutism,” in Harry Wray and Hilary Conroy, eds., *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History* (Honolulu: Univesity of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 34—41.

[32] Samuel P. Huntington and Jorge I. Dominguez, “Political Development,” in Fred I. Greestein and Nelson Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science* , vol. 3 (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1975), p. 61.

第11章

□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□12□
□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□“□□□□□ □□□□”□□□□□□□

[7] □□□□

□□□□

□□□□□□□

第13章

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□ [5] □□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

[10] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□l’impulsion du seul appetit est esclavage□□*Oeuvres complètes* , vol. 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), p. 365. □□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

第14章

结局

□□□

□□□□“□□□□”□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

[5] □□□□1936□11□2□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□‘□□’□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1.□□□□ □□2.□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□‘□’□□□□□□□□□□□‘□□’□‘□□□□□’□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

第15章
□□□□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……”

——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ [1]

“□□□□□□□□”□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□Glaucon□□□□□□□□Adeimantus□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.....” [9] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[1] *Republic* 386c, Homer's *Odyssey* , XI, 489—491.

[2] Catherine Zuckert, ed., *Understanding the Political Spirit: Philosophical Investigations from Scocrates to Nietzsche* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988). ·Republic , New York: Basic Books, 1968, pp. 355—357, 375—379

[3] Thymos heart heartiness

[4] Catherine Zuckert, "On the Role of Spiritedness in Politics," and Mary P. Nicholas, "Spiritedness and Philosophy in Plato's Republic" in Zuckert (1988).

[5] 435c—441c 375a—375e 376c 411a—411e 441e 442e 456a 465a 467e 536c 547e 548c 550b 553c—553d 572a 580d 581a 586c—586d 590b 606d Melzer (1990), pp. 65—68; 69.

[6] *Republic* 439e—440a.

[7] "" "" ""

□16□

□□□□□

□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□·□□□□Ralph Ellison□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

[1] Abraham Lincoln, *The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Modern Library, 1940), p. 842.

[2] epithymia

[3] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1982), pp. 50—51. 1997 1 61 Abram Shulsky Charles Griswold Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 107—108.

[4] “ ”

[5] Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955). See particularly part 3, chapters 4—6.

[6] Huntington (1968), pp. 40—47.

[7]

[8]

[9]

[10] “East German VIPs Now Under Attack for Living High Off Party Privileges,” *Wall Street Journal* (November 22, 1989), p. A6.

第17章
□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

——□□□□□□□□□□ [1]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[21] Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals* , 2:8 (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 70.

□18□
□□□□□

□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

[5] Kojève (1947), p. 175.

[6]

[7] “ ”——

[8] Smith (1989a), p. 120; and Avineri (1972), pp. 88—89.

[9] Kojève in Strauss (1963), p. 183.

□19□
□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Es ist der Gang Gottes in der Welt, daß der Staat ist□□

——□□□□□□□□□□□ [1]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

[3] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□(1983), p. 7.

[4] □□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□

□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Hic Rhodus, hic saltus.

第20章

□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1789□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□—□□□

□□·□□□□□□1970□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

[16] □□□□□□□□□□□□Juan Linz, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibriation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

[17] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Diamond et al. (1988b), pp. 19—27. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□21□

□□□□□□□□ [1]

□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

——□□·□□□ [2]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[16] □□□□

第22章
□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□“□□□□□”——□□□□□

□□□

□□□

[2] □□□□

□23□
“□□□□”□□□□□

□□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □*description* □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

第24章

第二次见面

第二天早上，我们一起吃了早餐，然后我就回到了“家”。我的父母和哥哥都在家，他们看到我回来了，都很高兴。我把我的行李放在我的房间里，然后我就和他们聊天。

我的父母问我在学校的情况，我告诉他们我的学习很好，我的老师和同学都很喜欢我。我的哥哥问我有没有女朋友，我告诉他我有一个女朋友，她的名字叫小雨。

我的父母和哥哥都很想见见小雨，我就决定带她回家来见他们。我给小雨打了电话，告诉她我的计划，她很高兴地答应了。

我们约好了在我家附近的一个公园见面。我提前到了公园，等了一会儿，小雨就来了。她看起来很漂亮，我一见到她就觉得很开心。

我们在公园里散步，聊天，吃东西，玩得很开心。我觉得小雨是一个很好的女孩，我很喜欢她。

我们在公园里待了一个下午，然后我就带她回家了。我的父母和哥哥都很热情地招待了小雨，他们都很喜欢她。

晚上，我们一家人一起吃了晚餐，聊了很多。我的父母和哥哥都很满意小雨，他们觉得她是一个很好的女孩，很适合我。

我很高兴我的家人都喜欢小雨，我觉得我们的关系会更加亲密了。

[1]

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□1980□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[17] Dean V. Babast, “A Force for Peace,” *Industrial Research* 14 (April 1972): 55—58; Ze’ev Maoz and Narism Abdolali, “Regime Types and International Conflict, 1816—1976,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 33 (March 1989): 3—35; and R. J. Rummel, “Libertarianism and International Violence,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 27 (March 1983): 27—71.

[18] 1812 1831 —— 1831 Doyle (1983d), pp. 205—235; and Doyle (1983b), pp. 323—353. “Liberalism and World Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 4 (December 1986): 1151—1169.

[19] “” Stephen Sestanovich, “Inventing the Soviet National Interest,” *The National Interest* no. 20 (Summer 1990): 3—16.

[20] V. Khurkin, S. Karaganov, and A. Kortunov, “The Challenge of Security: Old and New,” *Kommunist* (January 1, 1988), p. 45.

[21] 1985 *United States Institute of Peace Journal* 3, no. 2 (June 1990): pp. 6—7.

[22] Mearsheimer (1990), p. 47. Mearsheimer 1945 —— Huntington (1989), pp. 6—7.

[23] Muller (1990), p. 240.

[24] Schumpeter (1955), p. 65.

□25□

□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□

□26□

□□□□□□□

□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□27□
□□□□□□

□□“□□”□□“□□□□”□Reich der Notwendigkeit□□□□□□□□□□□jenseits□□“□□□□”□Reich der Freiheit□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

第28章

□□□□□□

□□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”“Science as a Vocation,” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 143.

[15] Tocqueville, (1945), vol. 2, p. 336.

[16] Ibid., p. 45.

[17] □Mme. Périer, “La vie de M. Pascal,” in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées* (Paris: Garnier, 1964), pp. 12—13.

[18] Eric Temple Bell, *Men of Mathematics* (New York: Simon □ Schuster, 1937), pp. 73, 82.

[19] Kojève (1947), pp. 434—435 (footnote).

[20] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[21] □□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

第29章

第二次见面

[illegible]

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□30□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□31□

□□□□□□□

□□□□□□

□□□□□”□□□□□

□1914□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□·□□□□

□□
“□□□□□”□□ [1]

□□□□□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□

□□□□2001□9·11□□□□

□·□□□□Mohammed Bouyeri□——□□□□

□□□

“□□□□□”□□□□□

“□□□□□”□□□□□

Afanaseyev, Yury, ed. 1989. *Inogo ne dano*. Progress, Moscow.
Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture*. Little, Brown, Boston.
Angell, Norman. 1914. *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage*. Heinemann, London.
Apter, David. 1965. *The Politics of Modernization*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Aron, Raymond. 1990. *Memoirs: Fifty Years of Political Reflection*. Holmes & Meier, New York and London.
Aslund, Anders. 1989. *Gorbachev's Struggle for Economic Reform: The Soviet Reform Process, 1985–88*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y.
Avineri, Shlomo. 1968. *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Avineri, Shlomo. 1972. *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Azrael, Jeremy. 1987. *The Soviet Civilian Leadership and the High Command, 1976–1986*. RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, Calif.
Azrael, Jeremy. 1966. *Managerial Power and Soviet Policy*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
Babst, Dean V. 1972. "A Force for Peace." *Industrial Research* 14 (April): 55–58.
Baer, Werner. 1989. *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, third edition. Praeger, New York.
Baer, Werner. 1972. "Import Substitution and Industrialization in Latin America: Experiences and Interpretation." *Latin American Research Review* 7, no. 1 (Spring): 95–122.
Ball, Terence. 1976. "From Paradigms to Research Programs: Toward a Post-Kuhnian Political Science." *American Journal of Political Science* 20, no. 1 (February): 151–177.
Barros, Robert. 1986. "The Left and Democracy: Recent Debates in Latin America." *Telos* 68: 49–70.
Bell, Daniel. 1967a. "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society I." *The Public Interest* no. 6: 24–35.
Bell, Daniel. 1967b. "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society II." *The Public Interest* no. 7: 102–118.
Bell, Daniel. 1973. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*. Basic Books, New York.
Bell, Daniel. 1976. *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. Basic Books, *New York*.
Bell, Eric Temple. 1937. *Men of Mathematics*. Simon & Schuster, New York.
Bellah, Robert N. 1957. *Tokugawa Religion*. Beacon Press, Boston.

Beloff, Max. 1990. "Two Historians, Arnold Toynbee and Lewis Namier." *Encounter* 74: 51–54.

Bendix, Reinhard. 1967. "The Protestant Ethic–Revisited." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9, no. 3 (April): 266–273.

Berger, Peter, and Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao. 1988. *In Search of an East Asian Development Model.* Transaction Books, New Brunswick, N.J.

Berliner, Joseph S. 1957. *Factory and Manager in the USSR.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Bill, James A., and Robert L. Hardgrave. 1973. *Comparative Politics: The Quest for a Theory.* University Press of America, Lanham, Md.

Binder, Leonard. 1986. "The Natural History of Development Theory." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28: 3–33.

Binder, Leonard, et al. 1971. *Crises and Sequences in Political Development.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

Bloom, Allan. 1987. *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students.* Simon & Schuster, New York.

Bloom, Allan. 1990. *Giants and Dwarfs: Essays 1960–1990.* Simon & Schuster, New York.

Bodenheimer, Susanne J. 1970. "The Ideology of Developmentalism." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*: 95–137.

Breslauer, George W. 1982. *Khrushchev and Brezhnev as Leaders: Building Authority in Soviet Politics.* Allen & Unwin, London.

Bryce, James. 1931. *Modern Democracies*, 2 volumes. Macmillan, New York.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. 1970. *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era.* Viking Press, New York.

Bury, J. B. 1932. *The Idea of Progess.* Macmillan, New York.

Caporaso, James. 1978. "Dependence, Dependency, and Power in the Global System: A Structural and Behavioral Analysis." *International Organization* 32: 13–43.

Cardoso, Fernando H., and Enzo Faletto. 1969. *Dependency and Development in Latin America.* University of California Press, Berkeley.

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique. 1972. "Dependent Capitalist Development in Latin America." *New Left Review* 74 (July–August).

Casanova, Jose. 1983. "Modernization and Democratization: Reflections on Spain's Transition to Democracy." *Social Research* 50: 929–973.

Catton, Bruce. 1968. *Grant Takes Command.* Little, Brown, Boston.

Cherrington, David J. 1980. *The Work Ethic: Working Values and Values that Work.* Amacom, New York.

Chilcote, Ronald. 1981. *Theories of Comparative Politics: The Search for a Paradigm.* Westview Press, Boulder, Colo.

Clausewitz, Carl von. 1976. *On War*, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Collier, David, ed. 1979. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

Collingwood, R. G. 1956. *The Idea of History.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Colton, Timothy. 1986. *The Dilemma of Reform in the Soviet Union.* Council on Foreign Relations, New York.

Cooper, Barry. 1984. *The End of History: An Essay on Modern Hegelianism.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
Coverdale, John F. 1979. *The Political Transformation of Spain after Franco.* Praeger, New York.
Craig, Gordon A. 1964. *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640–1945.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Custine, The Marquis de. 1951. *Journey for Our Time.* Pelegrini and Cudahy, New York.
Cutright, Phillips. 1963. "National Political Development: Its Measurements and Social Correlates." *American Sociology Review* 28: 253–264.
Dahl, Robert A. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition.* Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.
Dahrendorf, Ralf. 1969. *Society and Democracy in Germany.* Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y.
Dannhauser, Werner J. 1974. *Nietzsche's View of Socrates.* Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London.
Davenport, T. R. H. 1987. *South Africa: A Modern History.* Macmillan South Africa, Johannesburg.
de Soto, Hernando. 1989. *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World.* Harper and Row, New York.
Debardleben, Joan. 1985. *The Environment and Marxism-Leninism: The Soviet and East German Experience.* Westview, Boulder, Colo.
Deyo, Frederic C., ed. 1987. *The Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism.* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y.
Diamond, Larry, J. Linz, and S. M. Lipset, eds. 1988a. *Democracy in Developing Countries.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colo.
Diamond, Larry, J. Linz, and S. M. Lipset, eds. 1988b. *Democracy in Developing Countries,* vol. 4, *Latin America.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colo.
Dickson, Peter. 1978. *Kissinger and the Meaning of History.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Didion, Joan. 1968. *Slouching Towards Bethlehem.* Dell, New York.
Dirlik, Arif, and Maurice Meisner, eds. 1989. *Marxism and the Chinese Experience: Issues in Contemporary Chinese Socialism.* Westview Press, Boulder, Colo.
Djilas, Milovan. 1957. *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System.* Praeger, New York.
Dos Santos, Theotonio. 1980. "The Structure of Dependency." *American Economic Review* 40 (May): 231–236.
Doyle, Michael. 1983a. "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs I." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (Summer): 205–235.
Doyle, Michael. 1983b. "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs II." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (Fall): 323–353.
Doyle, Michael. 1986. "Liberalism and World Politics." *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 4 (December): 1151–1169.
Durkheim, Emile. 1964. *The Division of Labor in Society.* Free Press, New York.
Earle, Edward Meade, ed. 1948. *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler.* Princeton University Press, Princeton.
Eisenstadt, S. N., ed. 1968. *The Protestant Ethic and Modernization: A Comparative View.* Basic Books, New York.

Eksteins, Modris. 1989. *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston.
Epstein, David F. 1984. *The Political Theory of the Federalist*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Evans, Peter. 1979. *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.
Fackenheim, Emile. 1970. *God's Presence in History: Jewish Affirmations and Philosophical Reflections*. New York University Press, New York.
Field, Mark G., ed. 1976. *Social Consequences of Modernization in Communist Societies*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
Fields, Gary S. 1984. "Employment, Income Distribution and Economic Growth in Seven Small Open Economies." *Economic Journal* 94 (March): 74–83.
Finifter, Ada. 1983. *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*. American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.
Fishman, Robert M. 1990. "Rethinking State and Regime: Southern Europe's Transition to Democracy." *World Politics* 42, no. 3 (April): 422–440.
Frank, André Gunder. 1969. *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution?* Monthly Review Press, New York.
Frank, André Gunder. 1990. "Revolution in Eastern Europe: Lessons for Democratic Social Movements (and Socialists?)." *Third World Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (April): 36–52.
Friedman, Edward. 1989. "Modernization and Democratization in Leninist States: The Case of China." *Studies in Comparative Communism* 22, nos. 2–3 (Summer–Autumn): 251–264.
Friedrich, Carl J. 1948. *Inevitable Peace*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
Friedrich, Carl J., and Zbigniew Brzezinski. 1965. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, second edition. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. "The End of History?" *The National Interest* no. 16 (Summer): 3–18.
Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. "A Reply to My Critics." *The National Interest* no. 18 (Winter): 21–28.
Fullerton, Kemper. 1924. "Calvinism and Capitalism." *Harvard Theological Review* 21: 163–191.
Furtado, Celso. 1970. *Economic Development of Latin America: A Survey from Colonial Times to the Cuban Revolution*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Fussell, Paul. 1975. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Gaddis, John Lewis. 1986. "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International Situation." *International Security* 10, no. 4 (Spring): 99–142.
Galston, William. 1975. *Kant and the Problem of History*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Gellner, David. 1982. "Max Weber: Capitalism and the Religion of India." *Sociology* 16, no. 4 (November): 526–543.
Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y.
Gerschenkron, Alexander. 1962. *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Giliomee, Hermann, and Laurence Schlemmer. 1990. *From Apartheid to Nation-Building* (Johannesburg: Oxford University Press).
Gimbutas, Maija. 1989. *Language of the Goddess.* Harper and Row, New York.
Goldman, Marshall I. 1972. *The Spoils of Progresss: Environmental Pollution in the Soviet Union.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
Goldman, Marshall I. 1987. *Gorbachev's Challenge: Economic Reform in the Age of High Technology.* Norton, New York.
Gray, John. 1989. "The End of History—Or the End of Liberalism?" *National Review* (October): 33–35.
Greenstein, Fred I., and Nelson Polsby. 1975. *Handbook of Political Science,* volume 3. Addison-Wesley, Reading, Mass.
Grew, Raymond, ed. 1978. *Crises of Political Development in Europe and the United States.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.
Hamilton, Alexander, J. Madison, and J. Jay. 1961. *The Federalist Papers.* New American Library, New York.
Harkabi, Yehoshafat. 1988. "Directions of Change in the World Strategic Order: Comments on an Address by Professor Kaiser," in *The Changing Strategic Landscape: IISS Conference Papers, 1988,* Part II, Adelphi Paper No. 237. International Institute for Strategic Studies, London.
Harrison, Lawrence E. 1985. *Underdevelopment Is a State of Mind: The Latin American Case.* Madison Books, New York.
Hartz, Louis. 1955. *The Liberal Tradition in America.* Harcourt Brace, New York.
Hauslohner, Peter. 1987. "Gorbachev's Social Contract." *Soviet Economy* 3, no. 1: 54–89.
Havel, Václav, et al. 1985. *The Power of the Powerless.* Hutchinson, London.
Hegel, Georg W. F. 1936. *Dokumente zu Hegels Entwicklung.* Stuttgart.
Hegel, Georg W. F. 1956. *The Philosophy of History,* trans. J. Sibree. Dover Publications, Inc., New York.
Hegel, Georg W. F. 1967a. *The Phenomenology of Mind,* trans. J. B. Baillie. Harper and Row, New York.
Hegel, Georg W. F. 1967b. *Hegel's Philosophy of Right,* trans. T. M. Knox. Oxford University Press, London.
Heller, Mikhail. 1988. *Cogs in the Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man.* Knopf, New York.
Hewett, Ed A. 1988. *Reforming the Soviet Economy: Equality versus Efficiency.* Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.
Himmelfarb, Gertrude. 1989. "Response to Fukuyama." *The National Interest* no. 16 (Summer): 24–26.
Hirst, Paul. 1989. "Endism." *London Review of Books* no. 23.
Hobbes, Thomas. 1958. *Leviathan, Parts I and II.* Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis.
Hoffman, Stanley. 1965. *The State of War.* Praeger, New York.
Hough, Jerry. 1977. *The Soviet Union and Social Science Theory.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
Hough, Jerry, with Merle Fainsod. 1979. *How the Soviet Union Is Governed.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
Huntington, Samuel P. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies.* Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1984. "Will More Countries Become Democratic?" *Political Science Quarterly* 99, no. 2 (Summer): 193–218.
Huntington, Samuel P. 1989. "No Exit: The Errors of Endism." *The National Interest* no. 17 (Fall): 3–11.
Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. "Religion and the Third Wave." *The National Interest* no. 24 (Summer): 29–42.
Huntington, Samuel P., and Myron Weiner. 1987. *Understanding Political Development.* Little, Brown, Boston.
Johnson, Chalmers, ed. 1970. *Change in Communist Systems.* Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.
Kane-Berman, John. 1990. *South Africa's Silent Revolution.* Southern Book Publishers, Johannesburg.
Kant, Immanuel. 1963. *On History.* Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis.
Kassof, Allen, ed. 1968. *Prospects for Soviet Society.* Council on Foreign Relations, New York.
Kober, Stanley. 1990. "*Idealpolitik.*" *Foreign Policy* no. 79 (Summer): 3–24.
Landes, David S. 1969. *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present.* Cambridge University Press, New York.
Marx, Karl. 1967. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy,* 3 volumes, trans. S. Moore and E. Aveling. International Publishers, New York.
McAdams, A. James. 1987. "Crisis in the Soviet Empire: Three Ambiguities in Search of a Prediction." *Comparative Politics* 20, no. 1 (October): 107–118.
McFarquhar, Roderick. 1980. "The Post-Confucian Challenge." *Economist* (February 9): 67–72.
McKibben, Bill. 1989. *The End of Nature.* Random House, New York.
Mearsheimer, John J. 1990. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War." *International Security* 15, no. 1 (Summer): 5–56.
Melzer, Arthur M. 1990. *The Natural Goodness of Man: On the System of Rousseau's Thought.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Migranian, Andranik. 1989. "The Long Road to the European Home." *Novy Mir* no. 7 (July): 166–184.
Modelski, George. 1990. "Is World Politics Evolutionary Learning?" *International Organization* 44, no. 1 (Winter): 1–24.
Moore, Barrington, Jr. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy.* Beacon Press, Boston.
Morgenthau, Hans J., and Kenneth Thompson. 1985. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace,* sixth edition. Knopf, New York.
Mueller, John. 1989. *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War.* Basic Books, New York.
Myrdal, Gunnar. 1968. *Asian Drama. An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations,* 3 vols. Twentieth Century Fund, New York.
Naipaul, V. S. 1978. *India: A Wounded Civilization.* Vintage Books, New York.
Naipaul, V. S. 1981. *Among the Believers.* Knopf, New York.
Nakane, Chie. 1970. *Japanese Society.* University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif.
Neubauer, Deane E. 1967. "Some Conditions of Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 61: 1002–1009.

Nichols, James, and Colin Wright, eds. 1990. *From Political Economy to Economics . . . and Back?* Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco, Calif.

Niebuhr, Reinhold. 1932. *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics.* Scribner's, New York.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1954. *The Portable Nietzsche,* ed. W. Kaufmann. Viking Press, New York.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1957. *The Use and Abuse of History,* trans. A. Collins. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1966. *Beyond Good and Evil. Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future,* trans. W. Kaufmann. Vintage Books, New York.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1967. *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo,* trans. W. Kaufmann. Vintage Books, New York.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1968a. *Twilight of the Idols and The Anti-Christ,* trans. R. J. Hollingdale. Penguin Books, London.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1968b. *The Will to Power,* trans. W. Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale. Vintage Books, New York.

Nisbet, Robert. 1969. *Social Change and History.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Nordlinger, Eric A. 1968. "Political Development: Time Sequences and Rates of Change." *World Politics* 20: 494–530.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds. 1986a. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives.* Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds. 1986b. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America.* Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds. 1986c. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe.* Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe Schmitter, eds. 1986d. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies.* Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Pangle, Thomas. 1987. "The Constitution's Human Vision." *The Public Interest* no. 86 (Winter): 77–90.

Pangle, Thomas. 1988. *The Spirit of Modern Republicanism: The Moral Vision of the American Founding.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Parsons, Talcott. 1937. *The Structure of Social Action.* McGraw-Hill, New York.

Parsons, Talcott. 1951. *The Social System.* Free Press, Glencoe, Ill.

Parsons, Talcott. 1964. "Evolutionary Universals in Society." *American Sociological Review* 29 (June): 339–357.

Parsons, Talcott. 1967. *Sociological Theory and Modern Society.* Free Press, New York.

Parsons, Talcott, and Edward Shils, eds. 1951. *Toward a General Theory of Action.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Pascal, Blaise. 1964. *Pensées.* Garnier, Paris.

Pelikan, Jaroslav, J. Kitagawa, and S. Nasr. 1985. *Comparative Work Ethics: Judeo-Christian, Islamic, and Eastern.* Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Pinkard, Terry. 1988. *Hegel's Dialectic: The Explanation of Possibility.* Temple University Press, Philadelphia.

Plato. 1968. *The Republic of Plato*, trans. A. Bloom. Basic Books, New York.
Popper, Karl. 1950. *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.
Porter, Michael E. 1990. *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*. Free Press, New York.
Posner, Vladimir. 1989. *Parting with Illusions*. Atlantic Monthly Press, New York.
Pridham, Geoffrey, ed. 1984. *The New Mediterranean Democracies: Regime Transition in Spain, Greece, and Portugal*. Frank Cass, London.
Pye, Lucian W. 1985. *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions of Authority*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
Pye, Lucian W. 1990a. "Political Science and the Crisis of Authoritarianism." *American Political Science Review* 84, no. 1 (March): 3–17.
Pye, Lucian W. 1990b. "Tiananmen and Chinese Political Culture: The Escalation of Confrontation." *Asian Survey* 30, no. 4 (April): 331–347.
Pye, Lucian W., ed. 1963. *Communications and Political Development*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.
Remarque, Erich Maria. 1929. *All Quiet on the Western Front*. G. P. Putnam's, London.
Revel, Jean-François. 1983. *How Democracies Perish*. Harper and Row, New York.
Revel, Jean-François. 1989. "But We Follow the Worse . . ." *The National Interest* no. 18 (Winter): 99–103.
Riesman, David, with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer. 1950. *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.
Rigby, T. H., and Ferenc Feher, eds. 1982. *Political Legitimation in Communist States*. St. Martin's Press, New York.
Riley, Patrick, "Introduction to the Reading of Alexandre Kojève," *Political Theory* 9, no. 1 (1981): 5–48.
Robertson, H. H. 1933. *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Rose, Michael. 1985. *Re-working the Work Ethic: Economic Values and Socio-Cultural Politics*. Schocken Books, New York.
Rosenberg, Nathan, and L. E. Birdzell, Jr. 1990. "Science, Technology, and the Western Miracle." *Scientific American* 263, no. 5 (November): 42–54.
Rostow, Walt Whitman. 1960. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Rostow, Walt Whitman. 1990. *Theorists of Economic Growth from David Hume to the Present*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Roth, Michael S. 1985. "A Problem of Recognition: Alexandre Kojève and the End of History." *History and Theory* 24, no. 3: 293–306.
Roth, Michael S. 1988. *Knowing and History: Appropriations of Hegel in Twentieth Century France*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y.
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1964. *Oeuvres complètes*. 4 vols. Éditions Gallimard, Paris.
Rummel, R. J. 1983. "Libertarianism and International Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 27 (March): 27–71.
Russell, Bertrand. 1951. *Unpopular Essays*. Simon & Schuster, New York.
Rustow, Dankwart A. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model." *Comparative Politics* 2 (April): 337–363.

Rustow, Dankwart A. 1990. "Democracy: A Global Revolution?" *Foreign Affairs* 69, no. 4 (Fall): 75–91.
Sabel, Charles, and Michael J. Piore. 1984. *The Second Industrial Divide.* Basic Books, New York.
Schmitter, Philippe C. 1975. "Liberation by *Golpe*: Retrospective Thoughts on the Demise of Authoritarianism in Portugal." *Armed Forces and Society* 2, no. 1 (November): 5–33.
Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1950. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy.* Harper Brothers, New York.
Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1955. *Imperialism and Social Classes.* Meridian Books, New York.
Sestanovich, Stephen. 1985. "Anxiety and Ideology." *University of Chicago Law Review* 52, no. 2 (Spring): 3–16.
Sestanovich, Stephen. 1990. "Inventing the Soviet National Interest." *The National Interest* no. 20 (Summer): 3–16.
Skidmore, Thomas E. 1988. *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–1985.* Oxford University Press, New York.
Skilling, H. Gordon, and Franklyn Griffiths. 1971. *Interest Groups in Soviet Politics.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.
Skocpol, Theda. 1977. "Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique." *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (March): 1075–1090.
Smith, Adam. 1976. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* 2 vols., Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Smith, Adam. 1982. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments.* Liberty Classics, Indianapolis.
Smith, Steven B. 1983. "Hegel's Views on War, the State, and International Relations." *American Political Science Review* 77, no. 3 (September): 624–632.
Smith, Steven B. 1989a. *Hegel's Critique of Liberalism: Rights in Context.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Smith, Steven B. 1989b. "What is 'Right' in Hegel's Philosophy of Right?" *American Political Science Review* 83, no. 1 (March): 4–17.
Smith, Tony. 1979. "The Underdevelopment of Development Literature: The Case of Dependency Theory." *World Politics* 31, no. 2 (July): 247–285.
Sombart, Werner. 1915. *The Quintessence of Capitalism.* Dutton, New York.
Sowell, Thomas. 1983. *The Economics and Politics of Race: An International Perspective.* Quill, New York.
Sowell, Thomas. 1979. "Three Black Histories." *Wilson Quarterly* (Winter): 96–106.
Stern, Fritz. 1974. *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of German Ideology.* University of California Press, Berkeley.
Strauss, Leo. 1952. *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Basis and Genesis,* trans. E. Sinclair. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Strauss, Leo. 1953. *Natural Right and History.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Strauss, Leo. 1958. *Thoughts on Machiavelli.* Free Press, Glencoe, Ill.
Strauss, Leo. 1963. *On Tyranny.* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y.
Strauss, Leo. 1991. *On Tyranny. Including the Strauss-Kojève Correspondence,* revised and expanded edition, ed. V. Gourevitch and M. Roth. Free Press, New York.

Strauss, Leo, and Joseph Cropsey, eds. 1972. *History of Political Philosophy*, second edition. Rand McNally, Chicago.
Sunkel, Osvaldo. 1972. "Big Business and 'Dependencia.'" *Foreign Affairs* 50 (April): 517–531.
Tarcov, Nathan. 1984. *Locke's Education for Liberty*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Tawney, R. H. 1962. *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. Harcourt, Brace and World, New York.
Tipps, Dean C. 1973. "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15 (March): 199–226.
Tocqueville, Alexis de. 1945. *Democracy in America*, 2 vols. Vintage Books, New York.
Tocqueville, Alexis de. 1955. *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*. Doubleday Anchor, New York.
Troeltsch, Ernst. 1950. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. Macmillan, New York.
Valenzuela, Samuel, and Arturo Valenzuela. 1978. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment." *Comparative Politics* (July): 535–557.
Veblen, Thorsten. 1942. *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*. Viking Press, New York.
Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. *The Modern World-System*, 3 vols. Academic Press, New York.
Waltz, Kenneth. 1959. *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. Columbia University Press, New York.
Waltz, Kenneth. 1962. "Kant, Liberalism, and War." *American Political Science Review* 56 (June): 331–340.
Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. Random House, New York.
Ward, Robert, and Dankwart Rustow, eds. 1964. *Political Development in Japan and Turkey*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.
Weber, Max. 1930. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Allen & Unwin, London. First published 1904–1905.
Weber, Max. 1946. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Weber, Max. 1947. *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, ed. Talcott Parsons. Oxford University Press, New York.
Weber, Max. 1981. *General Economic History*. Transaction Books, New Brunswick, N.J.
Wettergreen, John Adams, Jr. 1973. "Is Snobbery a Formal Value? Considering Life at the End of Modernity." *Western Political Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (March): 109–129.
Wiarda, Howard. 1973. "Toward a Framework for the Study of Political Change in the Iberio-Latin Tradition." *World Politics* 25 (January): 106–135.
Wiarda, Howard. 1981. "The Ethnocentrism of the Social Science [*sic*]: Implications for Research and Policy." *Review of Politics* 43, no. 2 (April): 163–197.
Wiles, Peter. 1962. *The Political Economy of Communism*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Williams, Allan, ed. 1984. *Southern Europe Transformed: Political and Economic Change in Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal.* Harper and Row, New York.

Wilson, Ian, and You Ji. 1990. "Leadership by 'Lines': China's Unresolved Succession." *Problems of Communism* 39, no. 1 (January–February): 28–44.

Wray, Harry, and Hilary Conroy, eds. 1983. *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History.* University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Wright, Harrison M., ed. 1961. *The "New Imperialism": Analysis of Late Nineteenth Century Expansion,* second edition. D. C. Heath, Boston.

Zolberg, Aristide. 1981. "Origins of the Modern World System: A Missing Link." *World Politics* 33 (January): 253–281.

Zuckert, Catherine H. 1988. *Understanding the Political Spirit: Philosophical Investigations from Socrates to Nietzsche.* Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.

□□

1988—1989□□□□□□□□□□□□·M.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□the John M. Olin Center for Inquiry into the Theory and Practice of Democracy at the University of Chicago□□□□·□□□□Nathan Tarcov□□□□·□□□□Allan Bloom□□□□□□“□□□□□”□The End of History□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□

001 □□□□□□□□□□□□

[□□]□□□□·□□ □

002 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[□□]□□□·□□□ □

003 □□□□□□□: □□□□□□□□□□□□□

[□□]□□·□□□ □

004 □□□□□□□□□□□

[□]□□□□·□□ □

005 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[□]□□□□·□□ □

006 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[□]□□□·□□□□ □

007 □□□□□□□□: □□□□1991□12 □25□

[□□□]□□·□□□□ □

008 □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[□]□□□·□□□ □

009 □□□1945□□□□□□□□□□□

[□]□□·□□□ □

010 □□□□

□□□□□

□ □□http://www.ilixiangguo.com/

□ □□http://weibo.com/bbtbook

□□□□https://lixiangguo.tmall.com

□□□□□□

□□ □□ □□
□□ □□ □□

□□□□□□

□□□ □□□
□□□ □□□

理想国译丛

imaginist [MIRROR]

弗朗西斯·福山作品 01

历史的终结与最后的人

THE END OF HISTORY AND THE LAST MAN

25 年过去了，并没有出现对“历史终结论”的最严重威胁，即出现某种比自由民主更高、更好的制度形式将它取而代之。纵然我们会质疑要多久之后全人类才能抵达那个终点，但我们不应怀疑某种社会形态就是历史的终结。

——弗朗西斯·福山

福山以清晰的文笔和令人惊心动魄的反思和想象力，告诉我们过去在哪儿，我们现在在哪儿，以及最重要的，我们将要去哪儿。他以对政治哲学和政治现实的驾驭，让我们在每日新闻之外深刻把握我们处境的意义。

——艾伦·布鲁姆

很少有一本书的命运，像福山的《历史的终结与最后的人》一样“坎坷”。自 1992 年出版以来，它穿越了无数掌声和同样多的臭鸡蛋。粗暴的政治氛围，使一本说理之作逐渐演变成一个意识形态的符号。二十多年过去，也许有必要重温此书，以这二十多年的时代变迁去反思此书的是非对错，也以此书为一个坐标去分析时代的走向。

——刘瑜（清华大学政治学系）

1989 年春，福山在《国家利益》杂志上发表了《历史的终结？》一文，认为自由民主制会成为“人类意识形态发展的终点”和“人类最后一种统治形式”，并因此构成“历史的终结”。自“历史终结论”面世，四分之一个世纪过去了，福山初心不改，一再声称自己从未改变，一次又一次撰文、著述为自己最初的结论辩护。到底是什么让福山有底气如此坚持？不论你是被这宏大的题目所吸引，还是被这大胆的结论所激怒，此书都值得展卷一读！

上架建议：政治、哲学

ISBN 978-7-5495-5529-1

理想国

imaginist

想象另一种可能